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ROUMANIA AND GREAT BRITAIN

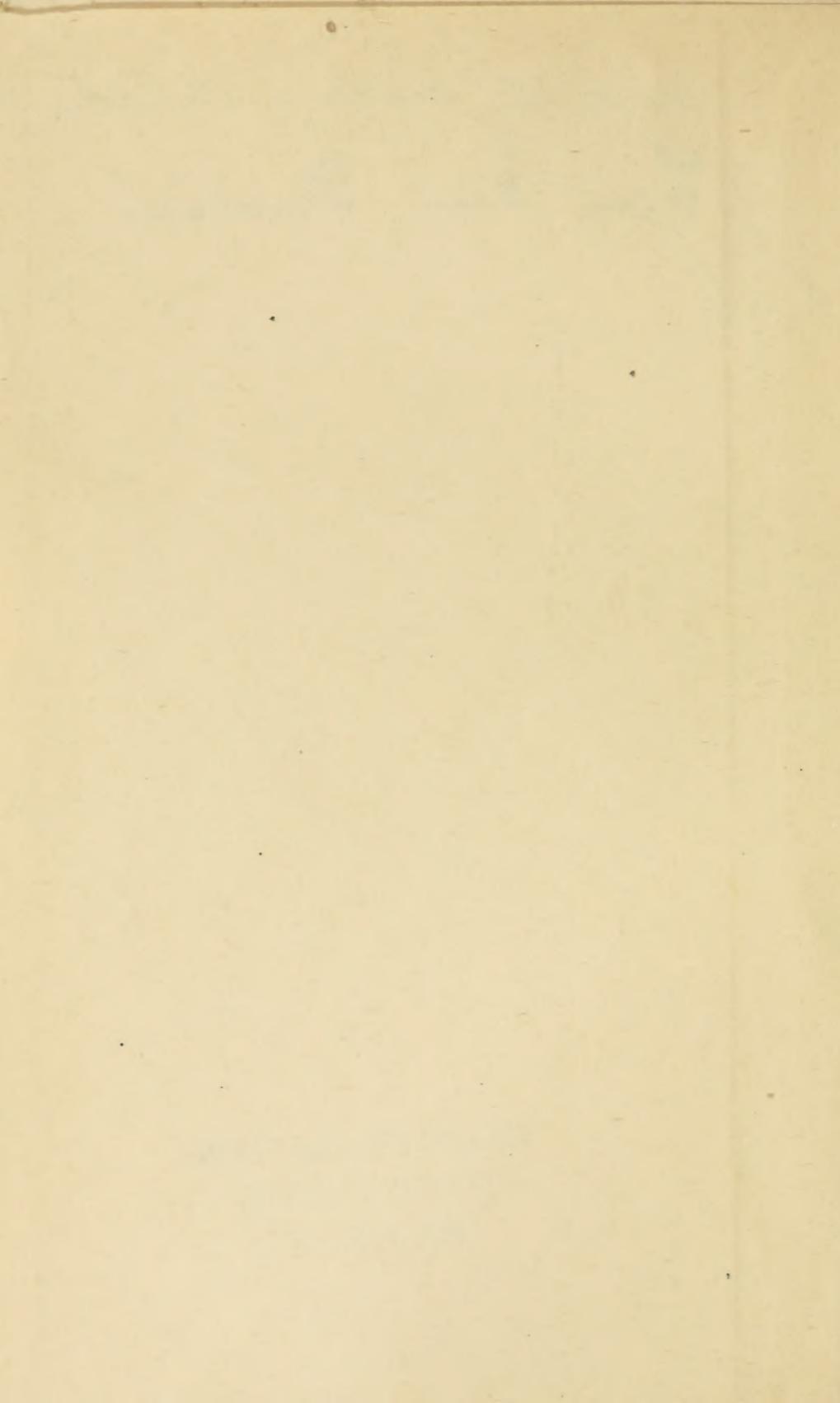
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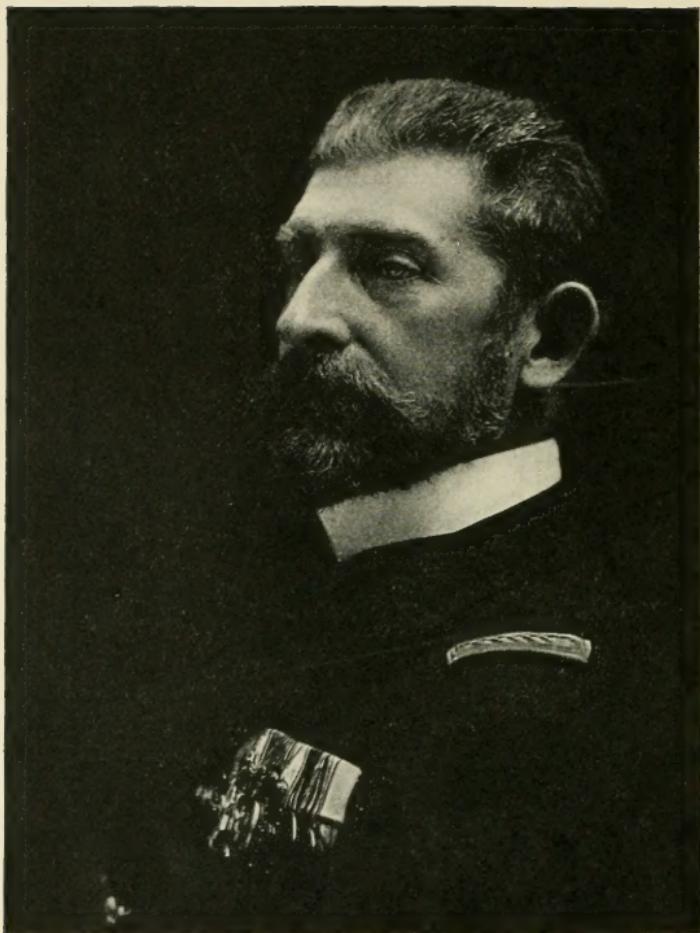
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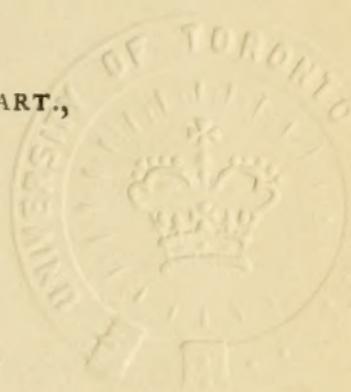
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ROUMANIA AND GREAT BRITAIN

BY

A. HERŞCOVICI HURST

With a Preface by
SIR THOMAS DUNLOP, BART.,
Lord Provost of Glasgow



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PREFACE

I HAVE great pleasure in acceding to the request of the Committee of the National Roumanian Relief Fund that I should say a few words in commendation of this volume, which is being published in order to serve a twofold purpose : first, to give in a concise and popular form some information regarding the history of Roumania as a country and her attitude towards the war as our latest ally ; and second to assist the Fund which is being raised in this country to provide Field Hospitals, Motor Ambulances, etc., and relieve the distress and sufferings of a gallant nation whose material resources and industries have been paralysed by the mobilisation of her male population.

Roumania traces her history as far back as the time of the Emperor Trajan ; but until the present century little was known of her evolution or her chequered career. Until recently the nations of Western Europe knew comparatively little of Balkan politics or of the strategical position of Roumania ; and her attitude towards the Allies in the present struggle has been largely misunderstood.

The present volume, which has been written by a Roumanian, who is also a naturalised British subject, is an authoritative record of the history of the nation, the characteristics of the people, and the resources of the country.

Her intervention in the war means not only an accession to the fighting forces of the Allies, but, from an economic point of view, it opens up potentialities of immense importance in the future.

It is therefore important that the people

of Great Britain should know as much as possible of a country with which, after the war, we are bound to have intimate social and business relationships.

From this point of view I cordially commend the present volume to the careful study of all interested in the future prosperity and peace of the world.

THOMAS DUNLOP.

WHEN the present war began it looked for a time as though interest would mainly centre in the west and in the north-east; but the maps by which one could usefully follow military operations in those days have long been insufficient. One country after another in the south-east of Europe has been drawn into the conflict, and last year it seemed as though the Central Powers were about to break the ring of the Allies, and establish their dominion among the rising nations of the East.

For the last generation Germany had endeavoured by every means to increase her influence among these peoples. The thread of German commercial and political intrigue ran through the tangled web of Balkan politics. German trade, German military power, German genius—in what

part of the world have they not been advertised? In what part of Europe have they not engaged the minds of men to admiration or to fear? And among the States that were struggling to establish their freedom after centuries of anarchy and oppression the efforts of their powerful Teuton neighbours could not fail to make a deep impression.

To the people of these States many of the nations of the West were as little known as, until this century, the Balkan States and their neighbours were to the British people. In all the discussions as to who would join the Allies and who would join the Central Powers, ignorance of the conditions in the south-east of Europe was the most marked feature. Many were surprised that Bulgaria went against us, that Greece should play the part she has done, and that Roumania should be our friend; and there are those yet who doubt whether that friendship is worth what it will cost. They know neither the country nor the people.

ROUMANIA'S STRATEGICAL POSITION

Roumania, as at present constituted, consists of the ancient principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, with the Dobrudja. It is about as large in area as England and Wales, but different in shape ; and it has a population of about eight millions. It is situated between Russia, Austria, Serbia and Bulgaria ; and its border to the Black Sea separates it from Turkey. It will thus be seen that its strategic position is of the highest importance. On its northern and western borders it is bounded by the high Carpathian Mountains, and the ground sweeps from them in a gradual slope through fertile plains to the Danube and the Pruth.

The climatic conditions are good ; for, although the winters are sometimes extremely cold, and the height of the summer is marked by great heat, the temperature is agreeable during the greater part of the year ; and the abundant harvests, for which the country has always been cele-

brated, are the best indication of its natural fertility.

The Germans have recognised Roumania's wealth in natural resources and have helped her commercial progress in some ways; but, their object being to secure the control of the country, they have hindered its development in other directions—for political reasons. With British support the natural wealth of Roumania might be exploited in such a manner as to bring the country more intimately into touch with the Western Powers, and free it from the fear of domination by a race that is alien to it in genius and aspirations.

ROUMANIA'S PROGRESS

Nearly 80 per cent. of the people of Roumania are engaged in agriculture and kindred occupations; but there are important towns in the country, and a commercial population that has increased with the development of industry.

Each department has its chief town, and

the life there has become assimilated to that of the cities of the West. Bucharest, the capital, has modelled itself on Paris and is one of the most luxurious cities in Europe. It has a population as large as that of Edinburgh. Its situation is excellent, its government is good, and it is the centre of commerce, of education, and of administration. Modern drama and modern music flourish there, and it has an excellent university, libraries, and museums of Dacian and Roman antiquities. The other towns, though in a lesser degree, have also developed greatly during the last twenty years, and have been strongly influenced by French ideals.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR RELIGION

Much of the land in Roumania was held by large owners, some of whom are the descendants of the nobles who were the rulers and leaders of the people; but, recognising that, in the words of Prince M. Bibescu, "the peasants bring abundance in time of peace and glory in

time of war," they agreed to legislation whereby a form of peasant proprietorship has been established. There are now over a million small landholders in the country; and the rural population is manifesting a keener interest in political affairs than it was accustomed to do.

The Roumanian peasant is a hard-headed, practical person, and, whether he is a kilted highlander of the Carpathians, who lives among his flocks and his herds, or an agriculturist of the plains, he is steeped in the traditions of his race. The valour and the sufferings of his ancestors are as real to him and influence him as profoundly as the religion to which he is devoted. The sorrows of the past are enshrined in folk-song and ballad which keep alive the memory of old triumphs, trials, and miseries, as the people are easily moved by music.

As might be expected, the highlanders and peasantry generally, who are far from the influences of the towns, look

with some doubt on their urban fellow-countrymen ; and, being themselves attached to the past, and intensely patriotic and clannish, they cling to traditional customs and dress.

The Roumanian peasant is very religious ; indeed, alike in town and country, the Greek Orthodox Church has a powerful hold on the people. Its ritual appeals to them ; saints' days and other religious celebrations are zealously observed. The churches are filled with worshippers, and the congregations do not consist mostly of women, as in many countries. The Roumanian takes his religion seriously, and carries its forms through all the important events of life to death and burial. He is more influenced by the law of the Church than by the law of the land. Many of the finest buildings throughout the country are ecclesiastical, and in Curtea de Arges the cathedral is a noble specimen of Byzantine architecture. It is built of greyish white limestone resembling alabaster, and with its arabesque

ornamentation looks out on the sunlight like some fairy palace of the Arabian Nights.

Of the Roumanian people generally it may be said that they are a hardy race, of quick intelligence, passionate, emotional, and susceptible to artistic influences. They are warm-hearted and generous, hospitable to strangers, and, though quick to resent an injury, are not forgetful of any kindness shown to them. The women of the country have long had a reputation in the East for their beauty.

For many generations the Tziganes have found shelter in Roumania, and their wild music has been influenced by and has influenced that of the land of their adoption.

Whatever differences there may be among the Roumanians, they are all united in their pride of race and in a patriotism that has its roots in the history of their troubled past. They cannot be understood without some knowledge of that history.

ORIGIN OF THE NATION

The Roumanians claim to be the descendants of those Roman soldier colonists who were settled in the kingdom of Dacia by the Emperor Trajan. That kingdom consisted of the territory now known as Transylvania, which at present is under the rule of Austria ; Moldavia, which is a part of the present kingdom of Roumania, and formerly included the territories of Bessarabia and Bukowina ; and Wallachia, or Muntania as it is called by the Roumanians.

During the decline of the Roman Empire the Goths and Slavs overran the country on either side and settled there, forming Hungary, Slavonia, Bosnia, etc., and cut off the Roumanians from the Latin races to which they belonged. Their country, however, did not escape invasion ; but amidst all the changes they clung tenaciously to their national customs, and, though their language has been influenced by the invaders, it is still in the main a Latin language, and it is not difficult to

understand by anyone with a thorough knowledge of Latin, French, or Italian.

For many years Roumanian history is one of struggle for domination by local chiefs, none of whom was strong enough to establish himself as ruler over the country. As Mahomedan power increased and spread, Roumania came gradually under the sovereignty of the Turk, but, though the people were subdued, they were never crushed ; in spite of oppression and massacre, the national spirit lived, and the Roumanians were always ready to strike a blow for freedom. Having no leaders who could unite them, their struggle seemed a hopeless one, but defeat did not daunt them, nor were they dismayed by their failures.

STRUGGLES FOR INDEPENDENCE

When the Barbarians overran the Roman Empire many of the Roumanians of the plains took to the mountains in order to escape massacre, and settled on the slopes of the Carpathians. There they



[Photo: Stanley's Press Agency.

QUEEN MARIE OF ROUMANIA



maintained their independence and lived in groups or clans under chieftains, cultivating the land, hunting, and raiding the foreign settlers who had displaced them. As the plains of Moldavia and Transylvania became settled after invasion, and as the descendants of the Barbarians lost their warlike habits and took to peaceful pursuits, the Roumanians from the highlands became a thorn in their flesh, and, having the sympathy of the descendants of their kinsfolk who had been subdued by the Barbarians, they kept alive the old Roman spirit, and prevented the country from falling completely into the hands of the foreigner. Gradually a cohesion was established between the scattered raiders, and they only wanted a competent leader to unite them and enable them to realise their desire to establish an independent Roumania.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century Radul Negro (1290–1314), Voivode of Transylvania, having established his power in his own principality,

attempted to unite the Roumanians of the neighbouring country, Wallachia, and, although his efforts were not crowned with success, they contributed powerfully towards union, and broke down local jealousies. At his death the ground he had gained seemed to be lost, and the old feuds between petty chiefs broke out afresh.

Mircea (1386-1418), from being a local chief, had established himself as ruler of Wallachia ; and by his political and military genius he succeeded in freeing his principality from the foreign yoke, but he recognised that to keep his country free he must continue to fight the oppressor and aid his neighbours to destroy the Turkish power. He went to the assistance of Serbia, and took part in the great battle of Kossovo, and, though there the Turks were victorious and the Serbian nation was laid in the dust, his action prevented a disastrous defeat from becoming utter annihilation—a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of many modern

writers on the subject. In the present war the King of Roumania has recalled to his subjects the memory of the great deeds of their ancestors, and he might have added to the names of the heroes he cited that of Mircea the Great, who, like himself, joined his armies to those of the distressed Serbian people in order to strike a blow against a tyrant's pride and arrogance. In spite of his defeat, perhaps even because of it, Mircea did not slacken in his efforts to curb the power of the Turk. He saw that freedom from Mahomedan domination could only be secured by steady resistance and that, unless the Christian powers united to oppose the Sultan, he would overrun the whole of that portion of Europe. He overcame the jealousy of his neighbours, and made an alliance with Sigismund of Hungary in an attempt to stem the tide of Moslem invasion. Although they were defeated at Nicopolis, they crippled the victor to such an extent that he was not able to execute his plans of conquest,

and a breathing space was afforded to the sorely harassed Christian populations. To some extent Roumania stood between the Turk and Western civilisation as Belgium has stood between Germany and the Allies.

UNDER TURKISH RULE

Unfortunately at Mircea's death he was not succeeded by men of equal ability, and the country gradually came under the suzerainty of Constantinople. For centuries the people were oppressed beyond endurance; but every attempt at rebellion was suppressed with the utmost cruelty, and to the rule they abhorred they were compelled through weakness to submit. The princes set over them were corrupt and unpatriotic, being practically in the pay of Turkey, and not until the close of the sixteenth century did they discover a leader who had the genius as well as the will to set them free; but amidst the darkness there were periods when it seemed that not

only had the dawn of liberty broken, but the day had arrived.

Stephen the Great (1457–1504) is one of the notable heroes of the Roumanian people. He appears to have been a man of genius, who not only brought his military enterprises to success, but proved himself to be a great statesman. As has frequently been the case in the history of small nations, victories do not always rest with the big battalions. Stephen routed the Turks, although they outnumbered his forces by more than three to one, and repelled the invasions of the Poles, who expected he would fall an easy prey to their might. During his long reign of forty years he established a degree of peace and order in Moldavia that was wanting before and after his time, and for a brief space he dominated Wallachia. He was called by the Pope the “Athlete of Christ” for the stand he made against the Turks. His name and fame spread through Europe, and there is no doubt that Michael the Brave was fired by his example.

THE FIRST RULER : THE NATIONAL HERO

Michael the Brave (1593–1601) was chosen by the Wallachians as their chief ; and the choice was a direct challenge to the Sultan, who had appointed another to be their ruler. Michael had to flee, and the country was roused by fire and sword, but through the influence and representations of Edward Barton, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, who had enlisted the interests of the Prince of Transylvania, the Sultan was persuaded to allow Michael to become the ruling chief. He soon had reason to regret his action.

Michael was a born leader of men, and the people recognised his genius. He overcame local jealousies and out of straggling clans he made an army. Although inferior in numbers, he defeated the Turks ; success followed success ; and the man chosen by the people and hunted by their alien rulers became a power that his enemies could not resist. When the Prince of Transylvania abdicated, Michael marched swiftly and

claimed the throne as leader of the Roumanians. By his swiftness and vigour he surprised and defeated the Hungarians. Having established his power in Transylvania, he proceeded to clear Moldavia of the Sultan's satellites, and with the goodwill of the people he became the first ruler of Roumania proper, consisting of the present kingdom with Bessarabia, Bukowina and Transylvania. It is no wonder that in the present great war the King of Roumania should invoke the shade of Michael to aid in conquering that land beyond the forest—the unredeemed Roumania—over which he ruled.

The pride of the Sultan was laid low and his conquests torn from his grasp. He sent against Michael army after army, but, though his best generals led them, few of the legions that crossed the Danube ever returned. In the height of his power Michael agreed to give assistance to the Austrians, who were then hard pressed. He went to join them with his army; and while he was in his tent General Basta,

the Austrian commander, obtained admission to him on the pretext that he wanted to consult him. He was treacherously murdered before his guards could save him, but he sold his life dearly and ere he died killed several of his assailants. He was and is the national hero, whose patriotic life and military achievements appeal to every Roumanian.

The fact that Michael the Brave was helped to his throne by the representative of the English people and was foully and treacherously slain by an Austrian has never appealed to me as a Roumanian so strongly as to-day. Now, as then, Britain is the country that favours freedom and gives aid to small nationalities, and Germany the Power that breaks her trust and makes of her obligations a "scrap of paper."

Although Michael had united the country, his death occurred before he had had time to establish the kingdom, and from the confusion caused by his assassination, and the sudden loss of his powerful personality, the land was torn asunder.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century the history of the Roumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia is one of oppression and unsuccessful revolt. The country was under the suzerainty of the Turks, who farmed it out to the highest bidder—mostly Greeks. There was no goodwill between the rulers and people, but the discontent, though always present, never resulted in successful efforts to throw off the tyranny that caused it. With the decline of the Turkish power in the eighteenth century, and the rise of Austria and Russia, Roumania became a kind of cockpit, in which those contending kingdoms fought their battles. Sometimes the country was dominated by one Power and sometimes by another, and it seemed as though in the clash of opposing forces the Roumanian people would be destroyed and the Roumanian spirit killed.

DAWN OF A BRIGHTER DAY

In 1774 Austria intervened to make peace between Russia and Turkey : she

annexed to her own territory the Bukowina, and the Roumanians have never been reconciled to this loss. In 1804 the Roumanians went to the assistance of Kara-george in Serbia, when he headed a revolt against the Turks, but the action did not result in gaining for them any relief from Ottoman misrule. They were always ready to help other oppressed peoples, though unable to free themselves from the heavy weight of misgovernment. In 1822 the Turkish tyranny had become such a horror and a scandal to the European Powers that they intervened, and insisted on Roumania being allowed to govern itself under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan. As usual it was easier to get the Turk to promise reform than to fulfil his promise, and in 1824 Britain had to step in and insist on the arrangement being carried out. From that date until 1848 Moldavia and Wallachia were each ruled by native princes under the protection of Russia and Turkey. National aspirations grew steadily, and in 1848, when among the Western

nations of Europe revolution seemed to be in the air, Avram Yancu headed a revolt against the Hungarians in Transylvania, and the fire thus kindled spread to Moldavia and Wallachia. The condition of affairs became so grave that in 1856 the Western Powers interfered, and the rising in Transylvania having been crushed, a constitution was granted to the two principalities. By this constitution it was ordained that each principality should have a separate ruler, but the Roumanians overcame this difficulty in the way of union by agreeing that Moldavia and Wallachia would each nominate the same man as its ruler, although each division had to retain its separate Council. The Powers at first objected, but in the deadlock that ensued they had to give way. A native ruler, Prince Cuza, who was then appointed, found his kingdom too difficult to manage, and in a few years he abdicated and retired to Paris. Then it was felt that by choosing as Prince a member of one of the European royal families local jealousies might be

prevented, and it was agreed that such a Prince should be sought. In those days political alliances were different from what they are now: jealousy existed between Britain and Russia that has now given place to a better understanding and cordial goodwill, but in those days, strong as was the desire to have him, a Prince from either of these countries was out of the question. The Count of Flanders was offered the Principality, but declined it, and finally, in 1866, Prince Carol of Sigmaringen was appointed. Austria was so much against the appointment that the Prince had to travel in disguise to Bucharest, but when he arrived there he was received with acclamation.

SELECTION OF PRINCE CAROL

The selection was a fortunate one: the national feeling was awake; proud of their past, the people believed that the genius of their race would build up for them a splendid future. They were eager for a ruler who would lead them along

the paths of progress, who would sympathise with their national aspirations, and who would establish them in peaceful prosperity. Prince Carol fulfilled their expectations ; wise and far-seeing, he did not seek to impose foreign ideas upon them, but set about to understand his people, and to guide them rather than drive them. He became not only Prince of Roumania, but the first of Roumanians—in the fullest sense of the word, naturalised—able to take the standpoint of his people and to act from it, without losing his power of seeing things as they appeared to outsiders. He gave them a liberal constitution founded on no doctrinaire or hide-bound ideas, but suited to their actual needs—a constitution that might be open to academic criticism, that might be too narrow for one country and too broad for another, but one that has proved itself to be that under which Roumania could most safely develop.

Recognising that even small nationalities if they would retain their freedom must

be prepared to defend it, Prince Carol paid attention to the establishment of an Army on modern lines, and brought it to a high state of efficiency. When in 1877, owing to the terrible atrocities committed by the Turks in the Balkans, Russia declared war on Turkey, Roumania offered to join forces with the Czar; she was still nominally under the sovereignty of the Sultan, but had ceased to be actually subject to his dominion. Not forgetful of her own sufferings at the hands of the Moslem, she was eager to assist the Serbs and Bulgars in their efforts to free themselves from Turkish misrule. She had no prospect of gain before her; but her sympathy with the neighbouring nations in their fight for freedom, although these nations were not her kin, was so strong that she was prepared to make sacrifices for them. The Czar did not think it necessary to accept her offer, but took advantage of her friendliness to march his armies through her territory into Bulgaria to give battle to the

Turks. When before Plevna his armies were threatened with destruction by the Turkish General, Osman Pasha, the Czar accepted the proffered aid from Roumania, whose Army, under Prince Carol, marched to his assistance and, after seizing the forts of Gravitza, brought triumph to the Russian armies, and made for itself a reputation which it has since sustained.

PRINCE CAROL AS KING

Unfortunately for Roumania and for the peace of Europe, the Powers at the Conference of Berlin—a Conference at which Roumania was refused a seat—were influenced too powerfully by Germany and Austria. Austria, who had never looked with favour on Prince Carol, desired to have a prince ruling over Roumania who would be under her influence, and she here sought an opportunity to sever the alliance between Russia and Roumania that was founded on their mutual sacrifices in the war.

The Treaty of Berlin gave Bessarabia, which was the most fertile part of Moldavia, to Russia ; and Roumania was given in exchange the Dobrudja, consisting mainly of marshlands. This arrangement naturally gave great offence to Roumania, and contributed to detach her from Russia and bring her to look with more favour on the Central Powers.

But Prince Carol, while fitting his country for war, did not neglect the arts of peace. He encouraged agriculture and commerce, and, recognising the necessity for instruction in technical matters, he paid great attention to the establishment of schools and colleges. In 1881 he was crowned King of Roumania, the crown being made of metal from the artillery captured by him at Plevna ; and the principality of Roumania was recognised by the Powers as a kingdom.

THE QUEEN—CARMEN SYLVA

If Roumania was fortunate in the Prince it had chosen, he was no less fortunate



[Photo: Stanley's Press Agency

BRATIANO

in his Consort. In 1869 he married Princess Elisabeth of Wied, who became known to all Europe as Carmen Sylva. Her ability would have enabled her to make a name for herself if she had been a private citizen ; indeed, her high position contributed rather to diminish the reputation justly due to her talent. It is commonly said that all Royal personages are able, and there certainly is a disposition in some quarters to give great praise to mediocre productions when the authors of these productions occupy a throne. Everybody is familiar with the reputation of the German Emperor as a writer, painter, musician—in short, as a genius in all departments—and nobody is greatly moved by the adulation he has received except those who have been so unfortunate as to become the possessors of some of his productions. But the praise given to Carmen Sylva was only her due. Her books found for themselves a public by their own merits, and are read for their

literary worth. She made valuable contributions to the study of folk-lore, and thereby gained the respect of those learned men whose profession it is to aid in the knowledge of the present by the study of the past. Her contributions to general literature were the delight of a large circle of readers, and she wrote fairy tales which by their delicate charm and poetic feeling had a rare distinction. She had great musical gifts, which were cultivated under Rubinstein and Schumann, and she used these gifts not merely for the pleasure of her friends, but, on occasion, for the benefit of her subjects and in the cause of charity. But she was not merely respected in Roumania and admired for her talents ; she won the hearts of her people by her interest in their welfare and the thoughtful care she gave to their needs. She helped the poor ; and she enabled them to help themselves. With this object she established industries by which they could improve their position. To them the

Queen was not some high and far-off being whom they were bound to respect and obey ; she was known among them as “Mama Regina”—Mother Queen—and the name fairly indicates the way in which they looked upon her. From the time she first came amongst them until the day of her death, her reputation among the people steadily increased ; she never slackened her interest in their welfare, and they knew that in her they had a ruler on whose sympathy they could always rely.

The position of Roumania was not an enviable one. A small State placed between powerful neighbours has to be careful to avoid giving offence if she would preserve any degree of independence. It is almost impossible to please one without giving umbrage to another, and if she leans too much to any side, she is in danger of paying for the support she receives by a loss of freedom. Roumania, like Italy, was compelled by stress of circumstances to come to an understand-

ing with Austria—neither State was strong enough to face the possibility of war with Austria ; but when that Power seized on Bosnia and Herzegovina and nearly brought about a European war, Roumania made it perfectly clear that she would be no party to Austria's aggression.

THE BALKAN WAR

When Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria formed an alliance to rid Europe of the Turk, Roumania observed a benevolent neutrality. It is well known that the object of the Central Powers and the ambition of the German Emperor was to exercise a preponderating political influence from Berlin to Baghdad. With this object in view the Kaiser had paid his court to the Sultan and brought the Moslem empire under German influence. Had Roumania wished to assist the ambitions of the Central Powers, it would have been her policy to take the field against the Balkan Alliance, and Bulgaria in particular. Contrary to the expectations of the Central

Powers, the Turk was beaten and the Balkan Powers triumphed. But in the ambitious and unscrupulous King of Bulgaria these Powers had an instrument to their hand that might be employed to enable them to recover the ground which they had lost and to break up the Alliance that threatened destruction to their “Drang nach Osten” policy. Bulgaria treacherously turned on her allies and attacked both the Greeks and the Serbs, but Roumania declared war on Bulgaria, and by her action destroyed any chance that Ferdinand had to defeat his former allies.

It is now quite clear that if Bulgaria had been successful in defeating Serbia and Greece, German influence would have been paramount in South-eastern Europe, and the Berlin-to-Baghdad dream would have been a reality. So far from lending herself to the policy of the Central Powers, Roumania acted on the advice of the Entente Powers—Britain and her allies. This is not to say that Roumania was

blindly lending herself to the ambition of either of the great alliances; she was acting in what she believed to be her own interests, and these interests did not appear to her to be those of the Germans. Her position was uncomfortable enough, and she did not believe that she would be less liable to be bullied by the Austrians and Germans if their influence on her neighbours were increased and if Bulgaria, as the price of her aggrandisement, became a tributary State of the Central Powers. Roumania entered the war, not for the purpose of increasing her territory—as a matter of fact she only accepted a rectification of her frontier, though some of the other belligerents nearly doubled their area—but in order to maintain her own independence, which she believed would be in danger if Bulgaria defeated Greece and Serbia. She did not believe that the peace of Europe could be maintained if the existence of the small nationalities were imperilled and their independence lost.

In this country there was no attempt to

understand Balkan politics on the part of people generally. They had been accustomed to hear of danger from one or other of the Great Powers, and the Near East had no history for them. The popular impression was that that part of Europe was composed of various races who were generally fighting with one another, and whose quarrels had little but a sporting interest for the Western nations. Of course this was not the view of statesmen, or of enlightened individuals and committees ; but the lecturer on the Balkan States and on the Near East was apt to be regarded as a kind of foreign missionary—an earnest and well-intentioned person, who ought to be encouraged, but not taken too seriously. Perhaps not very many people would have committed themselves to the proposition made by the amateur politician who, indignant at the Sultan because of the Armenian massacres, said that if the Government were in earnest to save these poor people, they should send the British Fleet up the Balkans ! But

the name conveyed very little to many, and it is only lately that the fact has been realised that these little-known countries, these young kingdoms of old races, are as much a part of Europe as the older States, and their progress of as much importance. When this is clearly seen, the greatness of Roumania's share in preventing the domination of Europe by the Germanic Powers will be acknowledged. Had she stood aside when Bulgaria attacked the other members of the Balkan Alliance; much more, had she assisted Bulgaria in playing the German game, the task of the Allies to-day would have been immensely increased, and that under difficulties almost insurmountable. Being a small Power, she could not have done more than she did; and if she had been ambitious of aggrandisement and content to be under German domination, she might easily have done less.

KING FERDINAND

It would have been no new thing in the history of Roumania for progress to be

made under a good ruler, and through want of a competent successor for everything to be lost. The life of the King and Queen was saddened by the death of their only child, and when it became clear that there could be no succession in the direct line, the King's nephew, Ferdinand, was invited to take up his residence in the country that he might expect to rule. As his uncle had done, Ferdinand interested himself in the country and its needs. He succeeded in gaining a knowledge of the people and obtained the confidence of the leaders. He married the Princess Marie, daughter of the Duke of Edinburgh. It is a curious fact that he has a blood relationship with the great Napoleon, while his Queen is a descendant of the King who was Napoleon's most formidable enemy.

Ferdinand succeeded to the throne on the death of King Carol soon after the present great war began. He had closely studied the policy of his predecessor and has followed in its lines. Being a constitutional monarch, not at all inclined to

impose his personal will on his ministers merely for his own glorification, he acts with them and through them to satisfy the aspirations of his subjects. He is a modest man, who is not given to spectacular displays : it would be quite out of character for him to go about his country in the manner of the Kaiser, or King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, and call Heaven and earth to witness to the majesty of his power. He is content to do his duty by his people and await in confidence his reward.

For the last ten years of King Carol's life Ferdinand took upon himself a great part of the work in order to save the life and the energy of the aged ruler ; and the quiet industry and conscientious care with which he applied himself to the duties of the kingly office won him the confidence and affection of his subjects, and the respect of Europe.

“Carmen Sylva” did not long survive her husband ; but Queen Marie has worthily succeeded her in the esteem of the Roumanian people. It was a great blow to

Roumania that the King, whom she had so long trusted, and the Queen she loved, should have been taken from her so suddenly ; but she has been fortunate in their successors.

QUEEN MARIE

Queen Marie is as little given to display and theatrical effect as is the King ; her influence does not depend on anything but her own personality. She is accessible to all and ever ready to help in any good cause. Roumania is renowned for the beauty of its women ; but in beauty and grace as well as in rank she is its Queen. She is frank and generous, and her presence and character have contributed very greatly to the belief of the Roumanians in the British people. Like "Carmen Sylva," she has encouraged and developed native industries, and has exercised a powerful influence among all classes of her subjects. It is a great thing to teach people new occupations : but it is often as great, and sometimes more profitable, to help them

to perfect themselves in those at which they are employed. The Roumanians have long been noted for their skill in embroidery and needlework, but under the guidance of the Queen they have been taught to make improvements both in design and in execution while, at the same time, conserving all that was good in the methods of industry. Under her patronage the silk industry has been greatly developed ; the mulberry tree is cultivated in various parts of the country and the silkworm is reared with such success that no finer quality of silk is produced in any part of the world.

But Queen Marie, while attending to her subjects, does not forget her family, and is a model mother. She has six children who are the rising hope of the country. They have their mother's beauty and give promise of showing their father's good sense. They are reaching an age when people speculate as to the alliances they may make, and the Roumanian people have no doubt that they will justify the

belief that they are fit to mate with any Royal family, however great.

ROUMANIA'S SUSPICION OF GERMANY

The price of freedom is eternal vigilance, and if this is true generally, it is particularly true in the case of small States. Great Powers may be able to look with less suspicious eyes on their neighbours than small Powers, because of the confidence in their ability to resist oppression. The people in the smaller States in South-eastern Europe had a more accurate idea of what was likely to result from the ambitions of the Central Powers, and particularly of Germany, than had the people of Western Europe. Roumanian politicians knew that war was in the air, and they believed that Germany only waited a favourable opportunity to provoke it, in order to increase her influence and destroy the power of her rivals. They believed that Germany would have forced war at the time of the Agadir incident had it not been that she found she could not

depend on the assistance of the Austrians. Although official Austria might have been willing to support Germany had war resulted over the Moroccan crisis, there would have been differences of opinion among the Austrian people and active opposition on the part of the Hungarians to the sacrifice of their lives in an adventure with which their country was not concerned. Germany believed that she was strong enough, with the support of her neighbour, to fight successfully the Entente Powers ; but there did not seem to be any chance of her finding such a cause of war with any of these Powers as would unite Austro-Hungarian feeling on her side. With time the chances might be against her ; for her opponents had shown signs that they were taking alarm and were increasing their forces, and cementing alliances. If Austro-Hungarian feeling could, by any event, be stirred to such an extent that the country would go to war with one of its neighbours, then Germany, on the plea of friendship, could enter in

support of Austria, and so force into the field those countries who were allied to Austria's opponent.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria—openly fostered by Germany—nearly brought on war with Russia, which would have exactly suited Prussia's purpose; but although Britain and France loyally supported Russia in her objection to the annexation, the Czar did not feel that his country, which was only recovering from the effects of the Japanese War, would be justified in going to war again; particularly as it was clear that Germany would join hands with Austria.

In 1913 it was feared that the flames of war would spread from the Balkans over Europe, and the attitude of Austria was, to say the least, provocative. It was well enough understood that in this she was encouraged by Germany; but, thanks to the statesmanship displayed by Sir Edward Grey at the Ambassadorial Conference in London, and the reasonableness shown by

Russia, Germany's anticipations were again disappointed.

ORIGIN OF THE WAR

A chance came at last : whether it should be attributed to the Providence that the Kaiser has always proclaimed his Ally, or to the intrigues and machinations of his earthly satellites, history may yet reveal. The fact is that the tragic end of the Archduke Ferdinand and his consort at Sarajevo gave Austria a reasonable cause of complaint against Serbia ; but the complaint was made in an unreasonable way. It was a right and proper thing to demand a rigid enquiry into the crime, to search for its perpetrators, and to secure their punishment when found ; but Austria did not make such a request. She made demands to which no State could accede and preserve, not merely her sovereign rights, but her self-respect. In Western Europe the people generally did not believe that these demands would be persisted in. Serbia showed her willing-

ness to do more than could reasonably be asked of her, and people thought that some accommodation would be found ; but it is clear now that Germany had no intention of allowing Austria to be reasonable. Such a chance of uniting Austro-Hungarian sentiment might never come again. Their anger and their pride had been stirred, and if war came it would not be opposed. It is now held that Germany encouraged Austria to believe that Russia's remonstrances would begin and end in words : and Austria declared war, having been tricked into that course by Prussia, as the Young Turks were later.

As the Great Power to whom the Slav nations looked for guidance and protection, Russia could not ignore Austria's action, and she continued her attempts for a peaceful settlement ; but Germany hurried in while these negotiations were in the balance, gave Russia's mobilisation as a reason for declaring war upon her, and made a local Balkan incident the cause of a European conflagration. By treaty

France was bound to enter the field on the side of Russia ; but Germany did not wait to see whether she would respect her obligations, or treat them as a scrap of paper : she declared war on France to make doubly sure that her ambitions for conquest would not be thwarted. Britain's intervention, however, proved that she had again miscalculated : she was successful in bringing about a European War, but she has not been successful in winning it.

Sir Edward Grey had so exerted himself in the cause of peace, and showed himself so anxious to avoid war, that Germany seems to have believed that Britain would not fight, and that the British were a decadent race.

The war has shown to the nations of Western Europe what the Roumanians and their neighbours had long known—that the German's arrogance, his self-conceit, his contempt for people who do not see eye to eye with him, are outstanding qualities. It is little wonder

that he misunderstood a man of the temper and mould of Sir Edward Grey. According to the German standpoint, a strong man should look strong, speak loudly, and spread himself out, and insist on his infallibility. To the German, size is the great thing. He wants to be big, he wants his country to be big, he wants his reputation to be big, and he industriously sets about to realise his ambition. Everything must be "Kolossal." Frequently he does not neglect the method of belittling other people. He is trained to see himself bigger than he is and other people smaller than they are, and consequently he is continually hurting the sensibilities of others and misunderstanding them. In a sense it is true that thousands of people are being killed to-day because the Germans were unable to distinguish between size and strength.

ITALY AND ROUMANIA

Italy and Roumania found themselves in a peculiar position, and yet a similar

one. Italy was a party with Austria and Germany to the Triple Alliance, and it may have been assumed that she would enter the war with these Powers ; but she had no sympathy with them in action. As she was only bound to come in if they were attacked, and as it was quite clear that they were the aggressors, she remained neutral. Roumania was supposed to be an adherent of the Triple Alliance, but she shared the sentiments of Italy.

Both Italy and Roumania have had to choose between coming to an understanding with the Central Powers and being attacked by them : in neither country was the German spirit admired, or the German ambition approved. Both countries were racially akin to France, and in both countries Britain has been traditionally respected and beloved.

Roumania declared her neutrality immediately after the war began, and her action had its influence on Italian policy ; but, though the country remained neutral, the sympathy of the people was with

the Allies. This sympathy was openly expressed and was not confined to one political party. M. Take Jonescu, one of the most brilliant political leaders of the Roumanian people, a man famed for his eloquence and having a European reputation for statesmanship, voiced the popular opinion and urged the Government to join the Allies. He was supported by M. Nicu Filipescu and many others—prominent Roumanians—but they understood quite well that the question never was on whose side national sympathy lay : the pro-German party in the country was small in numbers and weak in influence. It must also be remembered that in all the Entente Powers there were pro-German parties. Up to the outbreak of the war, in Great Britain some of the leading papers pronounced against us entering the conflict with Germany. There were even resignations from the Cabinet on the question, and there are still members of Parliament, who have been cited as men of influence, who cannot be called anti-

German in sentiment. In France also, and in Belgium, there were men who differed from the mass of their fellow-citizens in their view of German character and of German aggression ; and Roumania has not been free from the influences of German inspired intrigue. In Italy there was a powerful party that held out against the national feeling and actively sympathised with Germany.

ROUMANIA'S ATTITUDE

Roumania was in a very difficult position; her sympathies remained steadily with the Allies, although all around her she witnessed the triumph of the German arms. She consistently refused to allow the Central Powers to violate her neutrality ; her statesmen kept out of the war because she was not strong enough to enter into it ; and sympathy that is not backed by material force does not justify a country in laying itself open to devastation. She could not actively support the Allies because, placed as she was, she

had not the strength to do so ; but she did nothing to hinder them and a great deal to prevent the Central Powers from supplying the Turks and the Bulgars with war material.

The war seriously injured the trade of Roumania ; the Dardanelles being closed, she could no longer export grain to Western Europe ; she was cut off from some of her best customers and, as there was no market for grain in Russia, she was in the position of having to trade with Austria and Germany or not to trade at all. She was, in fact, blockaded against the Allies. She is not a wealthy nation and she had to sell her grain in order to exist ; but she sold as little as possible, and borrowed from Britain to meet her needs. Sir Edward Grey showed his confidence in her integrity by getting this country to lend her money to keep her going. Grain was purchased and paid for by the British Government, but, as the goods could not be delivered, the transaction was, in effect, another loan.

For some of the grain she sold to Germany, Roumania got munitions which she is now returning.

In addition to the parties that favoured intervention in the war on one side or the other, there was a powerful body that was against Roumania entering the conflict at all. They believed that war was a wicked thing, and they were not convinced that their country would gain anything, while it might lose everything by joining in it. The position required statesmanship of a high order, and it was fortunate for the country that a man with the character and ability of M. Bratiano was its Prime Minister. He recognised the fact that, however favourable was the disposition of his countrymen's feelings towards the Allies, he could do nothing actively in their support until the people generally were convinced of the necessity for Roumania joining in the fight. Every effort was made by the friends of Germany to prevent the collapse of the peace party—even a German had to realise that the

Central Powers were distrusted and disliked by the Roumanian people and that these Powers could not expect their active support—but if Roumania could be persuaded that if, influenced by her sympathies, she took up arms, she would be crushed as Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro were crushed, then Germany would gain a great deal. Accordingly all means were tried in order to intimidate her; every success of German arms was magnified, and every example of frightfulness emphasised. In addition to this, money was spent freely for the purpose of corrupting opinion and creating disunion. But in spite of everything the conviction steadily grew in favour of intervention, and it only became a question of when that intervention could take place most effectively.

POLICY OF INTERVENTION

At the beginning of the war there was a large immigration of Roumanians from Transylvania. They brought with them

the hatred of Austria and Hungary that had been burned into them through generations of persecution. The trials and sufferings to which they had been subjected had made them more intensely patriotic than their more fortunate kinsmen in Roumania itself. They left their homes rather than fight for their oppressors, and their presence in Roumania contributed powerfully to the growth of interventionist sentiment.

Those who claim that Roumania should have come in earlier leave out of account altogether the fact that the Great Powers themselves had found that men without munitions could not win battles, and that until very recently they were outmatched in armaments by the Germans. It was not want of men that caused the Russian retreat, and it was not merely more men that could save the situation in the East. Roumania would have conferred a small advantage on the Allies if she had joined them without an adequate supply of munitions. Her Army would

have gone forth, not to slay, but to be slain. It was expected when Italy joined the Allies that Roumania would also come in, and there certainly was at that time a very strong popular feeling in the country in favour of such a course, but it is now quite clear that if she had been carried away by her feelings, she would have entered the war insufficiently prepared and been more of a burden than a help. The force that swept Russia from Courland, Poland and Galicia would have annihilated Roumania.

When Bulgaria, in alliance with the Central Powers, treacherously attacked Serbia, there were many who thought that Roumania should have intervened, although she had no alliance with Serbia as Greece had ; but the military situation was not such as to enable Roumania to intervene with any hope of giving effective aid. A look at the map would show this fact at once. The Russians were, for the time, defeated and could have given no support to Roumania ; while there were

German armies along her frontier, from Khotin in Bessarabia to the Iron Gates on the Danube, that were so powerful that Roumania could not have faced them with any prospect of victory.

IMPORTANCE OF ROUMANIA'S ACTION

It is surely more reasonable to believe that Roumania settled with the Allies the question as to when she would intervene than to assume, as some have done, that she delayed entering the field as long as she could. It should not be forgotten that Roumania was under no political obligation to any of the Allies, as Greece was. Greece was bound by treaty to come to the assistance of Serbia when Bulgaria attacked that country, but she failed to meet her obligations. Roumania was bound by no treaty. Her sympathies were with the Allies, but her power to assist them was not equal to her will to do so. Her neutrality was a benevolent one, and she actively joined the Allies as soon as she was able to do so with effect.

The occupation of Salonica by the Allies could not have been designed with the object either of tying up an army there or of advancing across the Balkan Alps to Belgrade or Vienna. It was probably their knowledge of Roumania's intention and their reliance on her good faith that led the Allies to remain in Greece ; for, with the entry of Roumania into the war, their position in the Peninsula became of the highest strategic importance. Many eminent statesmen believe that the road to Germany is through the Balkans and Austria.

Roumania is different from her Balkan neighbours in her political traditions. The King is a constitutional monarch, and representative government there is no mere form. When the country was united, and the time came for intervention, it was swift ; and the King voiced the national sentiment when, at a specially convened meeting of his Council, he said : " I have not called you here to ask your opinion, but to tell you my decision on a matter of

import. I have decided on instant mobilisation of the Army on the side of the Allies and an immediate attack on Austria-Hungary. The moment has come to liberate our brothers in Transylvania from the Hungarian yoke."

There are people who take a very near-sighted and cynical view of Roumania's intervention, and who belittle its importance. They say that she has waited to see which is the winning side, and has deferred giving help until the last moment ; and has only stepped in in order to claim a share of the spoils. They seem to be ignorant of the fact that Roumania, by her neutrality, was of great assistance to the Allies, and to think that entry into such a war as the present can be made without serious sacrifice. The Roumanians who are being killed in battle for the Allies just now are quite as dead as the soldiers who were killed two years ago ; but their lives are not being lost so vainly now as would have been the case had they fought then on our side.

ROUMANIA'S GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

From her geographical position Roumania would have been an invaluable ally to the Germans ; had she joined them at the beginning, as they hoped she would, the war would have taken a very different course from what it has done. Bulgaria would have gladly come in with her, and there would have been an open road from Berlin to Constantinople, as well as one to Kieff and another along the shores of the Black Sea to the Crimea. This would have influenced, unfavourably for the Allies, the position in the Caucasus and in Mesopotamia, not to speak of Egypt. Italy could not have come in, and Greece, as events have shown, would without doubt have joined the Central Powers. It is difficult to see how it would have been possible in these circumstances for the Allies to win ; not because the Roumanian power would have been added to that of their enemies, but because the Roumanian position and the combinations

that would result would have given them such an advantage.

By remaining neutral she enabled Italy to join the Allies ; and fear lest she should intervene kept Bulgaria out of the war for a year much more effectively than could have been done had she fought. The gain of time was a matter of life and death to the Allies. The German machine was complete when that of the Allies was only in the making ; and anything that hindered the operation of the German power favoured the cause of the Allies. Roumania blocked the way between Berlin and Constantinople and hindered effective co-operation between the Turks and the Central Powers ; thus diminishing the efficiency of their alliance.

Her entry into the war means an accession to the fighting forces of the Allies that will prove of great service ; but that is the least of the effects of Roumania's intervention. Its strategic importance is great ; for should the Salonica forces join hands with it the ring of steel



[Photo: Stanley's Press Agency

JONESCU

that shuts in the Central Powers from Riga to Salonica would be completed and would enable the Allies to cut in two the German and Turco-Bulgarian forces. Then Roumania and Russia would be able to ship their grain and receive munition supplies with ease. But the moral effect is as important. There are those who claim that Germany is already beaten, but that she will take a considerable time to realise the fact; and until she does so there can be no peace. The manner in which the news of Roumania's intervention was received in Germany shows that it has been a shock to the confidence of the people in the Government. They have hitherto had no doubt that they were victors, but Roumania has made their confidence begin to crumble, and has shaken their morale. They believed in themselves and they believed that the neutral States shared their opinion. They are beginning to doubt; and doubt paralyses people of a positive turn of mind.

The economic effect of Roumania's intervention is bound to be immense. Not only will the Central Powers be unable to purchase from her, but if the forces at Salonica join with the Roumanians the supplies from Bulgaria and Turkey to Austria and Germany will be cut off. They will be blockaded on land even more effectually than they have been blockaded by sea. As their supplies of food have been, from the beginning of the war, a grave source of concern to the Germans, and have lately shown signs of insufficiency to such an extent as to make the situation critical, the increased economic pressure may be expected to have far-reaching results.

The population of Bukowina and Transylvania is preponderatingly of Roumanian race and sentiment. These districts are "Roumania irredenta." If, as one result of this war, they are added to Roumania, a State that would soon have a population of 20 millions would be formed, which would act as a powerful bul-

wark against the designs of Austria and Germany in the East.

ROUMANIA'S FAITH IN BRITAIN

As a naturalised British subject I am glad that the land of my birth is now able to take an active part in the war. Born in the northern part of Roumania, where the Sereth enters Moldavia, I early learned from those around me to look upon France and Britain as the friends of my people. To France we were allied as all the Latins are, and regarded her as a great champion of freedom and progress. Britain was to us the great Power beyond the sea that stood for fair play and the rights of small nationalities, the mother of Parliaments, and the cradle of constitutional liberty.

Under the shadow of the Austrian and German power we could feel the menace it was to our liberty and its danger to the development of our national spirit. We did not love our Teuton neighbours in spite of the industry and energy they

assiduously devoted to our guidance. I remember during the Boer War—a war we did not understand and in which we were not interested—when German agents tried to stir up an anti-British feeling to their advantage, how their efforts recoiled on their own head. We did not believe in the ideals of Germany; and we did believe that, whatever the merits of the question might be, Britain would be true to her great traditions and worthy of our trust.

Roumanians in this country could never doubt the part their native land would take. They could understand her difficulties, but they knew where her sympathies lay. That these difficulties have been great nobody can doubt; and that they have been surmounted so as to enable her to strike on the side where her heart is has been due in no small measure to the work of the Roumanian Minister here, M. Misu; the British Minister at Bucharest, Sir George H. Barclay; and the Roumanian Foreign

Minister, M. Em - Porumbaru. No one can take part in this great war without the serious sacrifice of blood. Roumania, though the latest, is not the least among the Allies. She has looked to Britain for guidance and support, and she feels sure that the British people will, with the goodwill they have shown to the other nations who are fighting in the same cause, give aid to those Roumanians who are suffering from wounds honourably received or from distress due to the War.

APPENDIX I

TRADE AND COMMERCE

ALTHOUGH rich in natural resources, Roumania is still in the early stages of its commercial development. The towns are old, but it is only of late years that modern industrial conditions have affected them, and their principal business even yet is connected with the agricultural and stock-raising interests of the country. About a third of the country is cultivated, another third is used as pasture, and the remainder is mainly waste land which is capable of being developed. The soil is very rich—the black earth being famous for its fertility—but even in the best developed districts it is only lightly ploughed, for farming has not wholly emerged from the primitive state. It is true that new agricultural machinery has been imported (mainly from Germany and America), but it cannot be said to be in general use throughout the country. This is partly

due to that conservatism that characterises the farmer in all lands, and partly due to want of capital. The country is well watered. All the main rivers and tributaries flow directly or indirectly into the Danube, which is the great waterway of Central Europe, and thence into the Black Sea. The Danube enters the Black Sea by three mouths. On one of them is placed the port of Sulina, which is an important shipping centre, principally in the winter when the upper Danube is frozen.

Farther up the Danube are Braila and Galatz, each with a population of between 70,000 and 80,000. There the Government has built great warehouses and grain elevators to help the grain trade and encourage export business. At Galatz the Danube Commission sits, and on it there is a British representative.

Constanza is the principal port on the Black Sea, and in order to provide modern facilities for shipping the Government has built huge oil tanks there.

Other commercial centres are Ploesti and Craiova; and Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, is the great centre for trade between Roumania and Russia. It has a population approaching 100,000.

In addition to the water transport there are about 25,000 miles of railways, but the system of intercommunication between different parts of the country is far from being perfect, and the Government has decided to expend £20,000,000 in extending it.

The spirit of progress is there, but it requires to be guided and aided.

The Germans and Austrians have taken great pains to gain control, and their money invested in the country has enabled some progress to be made and has repaid them well, but the German is not a favourite, and his methods do not help him to a good understanding with the Roumanian people. He wants too much for what he gives. He wants not only to dominate business, but to control politics, and the people, being jealous of

their independence, are disinclined to accept him as their guide and friend.

The country produces wheat, barley (including the famous orzoica quality), maize, rye, millet, rape seed, and hemp. Even now in the production of cereals Roumania is considered the third country in the world, coming after the United States and Russia, and if this is so at present there is reasonable ground for the belief that with the application of modern methods and machinery the production might be indefinitely increased. The vegetable crops are as abundant as the cereals. Beet being extensively cultivated, sugar refineries have been established. Of late years tobacco has been grown with commercial success, and its quality has established for it a place in the markets and caused a demand that exceeds the present supply. It can compete successfully with Turkish and Russian tobaccos.

On the pasture lands there are great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and goats and pigs are bred in all parts of the country.

The cattle is raised partly for food, but the fact that large numbers of oxen are used for purposes of ploughing and transport is itself an indication that farming and commercial operations have not outgrown the primitive stage. The possibilities of cattle-raising for export have already been recognised, and there is a prospect for the establishment of a large canned meat industry. There is a successful business done in hides and tallow, and tanneries have been established.

Dairy-farming, as we know it, has no existence ; but there is nothing to hinder its establishment except the want of capital and organisation. It would be quite possible for the country to rival Switzerland in the supply of milk and milk products.

There is an export woollen trade already established, but it is not well handled ; and although it might be easily increased, there is nothing in the conditions of the country to prevent the establishment of woollen manufactories there.

Poultry of all kinds is raised, and export of eggs, even to Great Britain, has taken place ; but hen-farming and the collection of eggs are managed in a very primitive way.

The country is extensively wooded, and this is especially the case in the Carpathians, which, although they rise to heights of from 3,000 to 6,000 feet, have in many cases forests reaching to within a short distance of the summit. Timber is of good quality, the climate favouring its growth and hardening it ; and it includes oak, fir and beech. The Government has recognised the importance of afforestation and has established a College of Sylviculture.

The vine is cultivated with success on the lower slopes of the Carpathians. French companies are interesting themselves in the production of Roumanian wines.

As flowers grow luxuriantly throughout the country, bee-keeping is a favourite pursuit and there is a big production of honey and wax.

The petroleum wells are famous for

their extent and richness. Over two million tons a year is their present output, and twenty million pounds of foreign capital is already invested in them ; but nobody who knows the conditions would pretend that the field for enterprise is exhausted. Indeed, there is abundant opportunity for the employment of capital, as the fields seem practically inexhaustible ; and the scope for trade in petroleum is enormous, as the demand is daily increasing.* Refineries have been established. The Germans have had a strong hold of the industry, and the American oil kings have been endeavouring to obtain control ; but there is already a good deal of British capital invested in Roumania, and many Scotsmen are employed as managers. The present war will not increase the chances of either Germans or Americans in gaining the goodwill of Roumania. If Britain will take advantage of the opportunity which now presents itself a trade entente might well be established between Roumania and her which

* See Diplomatic and Consular Reports.

would be of profit to both countries, commercially and politically.

Coal, lignite and anthracite are found in various parts of the country—sometimes on the surface—but they have not been systematically worked. Indeed, this natural source of wealth has been so much neglected that even in peace time the price of coal in the capital reaches to between £3 and £4 a ton.

The Carpathians are rich in minerals. Iron, silver, gold, copper, sulphur, cobalt, and arsenic are found there. Although the Carpathian gold mines in Transylvania are known, there are no corresponding workings on the Roumanian side. The inhabitants of the country having been mainly agricultural in their pursuits, they have neglected its mineral resources in the past; but that is no reason why this neglect should continue.

Salt is found in abundance, but is only worked by convict labour, there being no chemical industries established in the country: 65,000 tons a year are produced.

APPENDIX II

FINANCE

FOR many years past the Roumanian Budget has shown a surplus, the revenue having consistently exceeded the annual estimate. The following are the latest figures :—

	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus.
1908-9	... £17,852,696	£15,791,191	£2,061,505
1909-10	... 18,455,476	16,718,643	1,736,833
1910-11	... 20,266,258	17,920,278	2,345,980
1911-12	... 23,002,261	18,586,394	4,415,667
1912-13	... 23,519,330	19,503,078	4,016,252
1913-14	... 22,357,600	21,292,720	1,064,880
1914-15	... 24,009,316	21,001,000	3,001,316

In September, 1915, the Public Debt amounted to £73,615,000; but the Government owns railways and other Public Services that bring in an annual revenue of nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling; the railways alone are valued at 40 millions sterling.

From a financial point of view Roumania

has been more prosperous than any other European country in recent years; and there is good reason to believe that when the war is terminated her prosperity will be greater than ever. She has suffered considerably from being confused with the Balkan States proper, but her Government is much more stable than that of her neighbours and, as the above figures show, there is ample security for the investor of capital.

The following tables from official sources give interesting details :—

TABLE I

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING TOTAL IMPORTS DURING
YEAR 1911

		Tons.	£
United Kingdom ...	...	283,928	3,423,800
Austria-Hungary ...	...	250,128	5,481,600
Belgium ...	...	48,217	541,680
Germany ...	...	187,243	7,351,880
France ...	...	17,974	1,414,480
Turkey ...	...	50,598	543,320
Italy ...	...	22,012	1,143,680
Other countries ...	...	126,200	2,878,560
TOTAL...	...	980,300	22,779,000

TABLE II

TABLE SHOWING PROPORTION OF ROUMANIAN IMPORT TRADE
IN BRITISH HANDS DURING YEARS 1907-11

Metals and mining products...	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Vegetable textiles & manufactures from	36.4	36.3	37.5	31.4	34.7
Machinery ...	14.9	11.4	8.3	9.5	9.6
Wool and manufactures of ...	19.1	18.9	18.4	14.7	16.0
Drapery goods ...	15.9	13.8	12.2	13.3	11.6
Hides and skins ...	5.4	3.9	4.4	5.5	6.4
Silk and manufactures of ...	3.6	4.3	5.7	7.1	9.3
Chemicals and drugs	12.2	13.7	16.0	14.0	18.7
Other goods ...	2.8	3.3	3.2	3.6	4.0
Total ...	16.2	16.1	15.7	13.8	15.0

TABLE III

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING TOTAL EXPORTS DURING
YEAR 1911

		Tons.	£
United Kingdom	...	544,160	2,239,200
Austria-Hungary	...	582,091	2,514,960
*Belgium	...	1,832,133	10,538,720
Germany	...	237,883	1,320,320
France ...	...	351,870	1,955,160
Turkey ...	...	148,799	841,200
Italy ...	...	376,989	1,983,680
Netherlands	...	583,634	3,076,280
Other countries...	...	732,721	3,199,280
TOTAL ...	...	5,390,280	27,668,800

* Mostly for Germany through Antwerp.

TABLE IV
AGRICULTURE—ACREAGE UNDER CROPS, PRODUCE, ETC.—
YEAR 1911

	Acreage.	Produce.
Wheat ...	4,767,505	11,353,408 quarters
Barley ...	1,252,786	3,168,594 "
Oats ...	991,495	3,176,466 "
Rye ...	325,536	604,394 "
Maize ...	5,150,570	13,411,342 "
Millet ...	97,340	196,997 "
Buckwheat ...	1,531	2,056 "
Beans, peas, haricots, and lentils ...	126,543	200,657 "
Beetroot, Sugar ...	33,599	258,824 tons
Colza ...	157,724	1,744,927 bushels
Flax { Seed ...	—	584,023 "
{ Fibre ...	52,176	40,436 cwts.
Hemp { Seed ...	15,218	100,031 bushels
{ Fibre ...	—	46,727 cwts.
Tobacco ...	24,680	183,070 "
Vineyards, productive	176,452	21,855,614 gals. wine

TABLE V
TOTAL EXPORTS OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES—YEAR 1911

Articles	Tons.	£
Wheat ...	1,458,029	9,792,120
Maize ...	1,555,332	7,328,730
Barley ...	475,164	2,362,520
Oats ...	233,296	1,055,400
Beans ...	72,271	767,800
Wooden planks ...	237,799	760,920
Benzine ...	124,414	711,640
Flour ...	64,917	675,120
Rye... ...	130,755	664,240
Refined petroleum ...	318,434	601,200
Colza ...	36,837	272,160
Petroleum residues ...	200,822	240,960
Oxen ...	22,856	225,840
Eggs ...	8,624	172,480
Millet ...	35,490	169,040
Bran ...	41,455	116,080

It must be quite obvious that a country occupying the geographical position that Roumania does, and having her wealth of natural resources and a waterway which penetrates to the heart of Europe, offers unique opportunities for enormous development commercially. Her Government is not an unstable one; her people are honest, progressive and peaceful; their political alliance with the Western Powers is a natural one and it would be strengthened by a trade alliance. The comparatively small trade between Roumania and Britain is evidenced by the figures given above, yet the country offers better opportunities for investment than places farther afield in which large sums of British money have been sunk, and consideration of its claims is sure to give it that support which would be of advantage in establishing good relations between this country and Roumania.

APPENDIX III

CROWN, CONSTITUTION, AND POLITICS

KING Ferdinand and Queen Marie have six children—viz.: Carol, Crown Prince (born 15th October, 1893); Elisabeth (born 11th October, 1894); Marie (born 8th January, 1900); Nicolas (born 18th August, 1903); Ileana (born 5th January, 1909); Mircea (born 3rd January, 1912).

The Roumanian King is a constitutional monarch. As in this country, he has a power of veto. He chooses a political leader to form a Ministry and the Ministry is responsible to the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.

The Legislature is composed of a Senate of 120 members indirectly elected for eight years by two colleges representing the propertied electors; and a Chamber of 183 members elected for four years by three electoral colleges or classes of voters. These three colleges consist of (1) electors possessed of property insuring an annual income of not less than £50; (2) those

paying direct taxes of not less than 20 francs annually or following a profession ; and (3) all Roumanian subjects of full age, most of whom vote indirectly by choosing delegates who vote with the direct electors of the other colleges. In the towns voting is direct. Members of the Legislative Assembly hold their seats for four years, and they all retire at one time, a new Chamber being then elected. Senators are each elected for a period of 8 years, but one-half of the Senate retires every four years. There is a Cabinet of 8 members, the Executive of 8, and the Chambers can be dissolved separately. A Senator must be at least 40 years of age and have an annual income of about £400. A Deputy must be 25 years of age. Senators and Deputies are each paid 20 francs a day while the Chambers are sitting.

By the Constitution granted by King Carol trial by jury, freedom of meeting and petition, and the rights of asylum to political refugees were granted.

There are elementary and secondary

schools, and universities for men and women, established by the State. Elementary education is free, and attendance at school is compulsory between the ages of 7 and 14.

The civil and criminal laws are founded on the Code Napoléon.

There are three political parties in Roumania, but the differences between them are mainly on questions of finance and agrarian reform. The Conservative Party is led by M. Margiloman, the Centre Party by M. Take Jonescu, and the Liberal Party by M. Bratiano, the present Prime Minister.

M. Bratiano, the Prime Minister and Minister of War, is the son of M. Ion Bratiano, the eminent statesman who, in 1877, encouraged Prince Charles to join the war against Turkey, and who was subsequently Prime Minister of Roumania for 12 years.

M. Bratiano has followed in the footsteps of his father, whose ambition it was to see a united Roumania. He was born

in 1866 ; he was educated as an engineer in Bucharest and Paris, afterwards entering the service of the Roumania State Railways. He gave up this occupation to engage in politics, and in 1895 entered the Chamber as a member of the Liberal Party, which had so long been led by his father. In 1896 he was made Minister of Public Works. In 1901 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs ; while in this office he addressed a circular to the Powers explaining that the Roumanian Government had been constantly preoccupied in the maintenance of equilibrium in the Balkans and could not regard with indifference any infringement of this principle. In 1904 the Ministry fell, but returned to power in 1907, when M. Bratiano became Minister of the Interior. He became leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister in 1908, and remained in power till 1910, when he resigned. In 1913 he served as a captain in the Army during the invasion of Bulgaria—an undertaking which he had strongly urged—and

after the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest he returned to power as head of the present Liberal Cabinet.

M. Take Jonescu is well known as a prominent leader of the Roumanian Irredentist Party, and has always been an avowed friend of the Allies. He first entered the Chamber as a Liberal in 1885, and he soon became known for his brilliant oratory. Finding himself out of sympathy with his party, he left it and joined the Conservatives. In 1888 he became a Minister, and was a member of every Conservative Cabinet for the following twenty years. In 1908 he founded a third party of Liberal Conservatives, which at once gained a great following.

M. Filipescu is a member of the Conservative Party and was Minister of War in the last Cabinet. He has been the chief ally of M. Jonescu in directing Roumanian sympathy towards the Allies.

CIVIL AND DIPLOMATIC SERVICES*Ministry*

Premier and War Minister.—M. Ion I. C. Bratiano.

Foreign Affairs.—M. Em-Porumbaru.

Finance.—M. E. Costinesco.

Justice.—M. V. Antonesco.

Industry.—M. A. Radovici.

Interior.—M. V. Mortzun,

Agriculture.—M. A. Constantinesco.

Education.—M. G. Duca.

Public Works.—Dr. Anghelescu.

Minister in London.—M. Nicolas Misu,
4, Cromwell Place, S.W.

Secretaries.—M. Michel B. Boeresco,
Prince A. Bibesco, M. Costiesco-Ghyka.

Chancellor.—M. Marcu Beza.

Commercial Agent.—M. G. Boncesco.

Consul-General in London.—Lt.-Col. Sir
A. K. Rollitt, LL.D., 3, Mincing Lane,
E.C.

British Legation, Bucharest

Envoy Ex. and Min. Plen.—Sir George
H. Barclay, K.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.V.O.

Councillor and Commercial Attaché.—

A. P. Bennett, C.M.G.

First Secretary.—Honble. A. Akers-Douglas.

Archivist.—R. Carnegie.

British Consul-General and British Danube Commissioner.—Major J. G. Baldwin, C.B.

Vice-Consuls.—J. Pitts (Braila), G. Hutcheson (Constanza), A. Adams (Sulina).

APPENDIX IV

NAVY AND ARMY

ROUMANIA is not a maritime power, but she has a Navy of which she is justly proud, and the gunboats patrolling the Danube preserved the neutrality of the country and rendered good service to the Allies in preventing the Germans from using that waterway as a means of communication between them and the Turks.

With the Army in possession of Orsova no merchandise can now come through the Iron Gates. The monitors have greatly helped in the defence of the Czernavoda bridges and railway.

The Navy is composed of—

CRUISER.—*Elisabetha*:—Displacement, 1,320 tons ; speed, 18·5 knots ; guns, 4 six-inch ; 4 six-pounders ; torpedo tubes, 4 18-inch.

MONITORS.—*Joan Bratiano*, *Laskar Cattogi*, *Mihail Cogalnicheanou*, *Alexander Lahovari* :—Displacement, 600

tons ; speed, 14 knots ; guns, 3 4·7-inch, 43-pounders, 2 4·7-inch howitzers.

DESTROYERS.—Six building at Naples :—
Speed, 35 knots ; armament, 2 4-inch,
7 12-pounders.

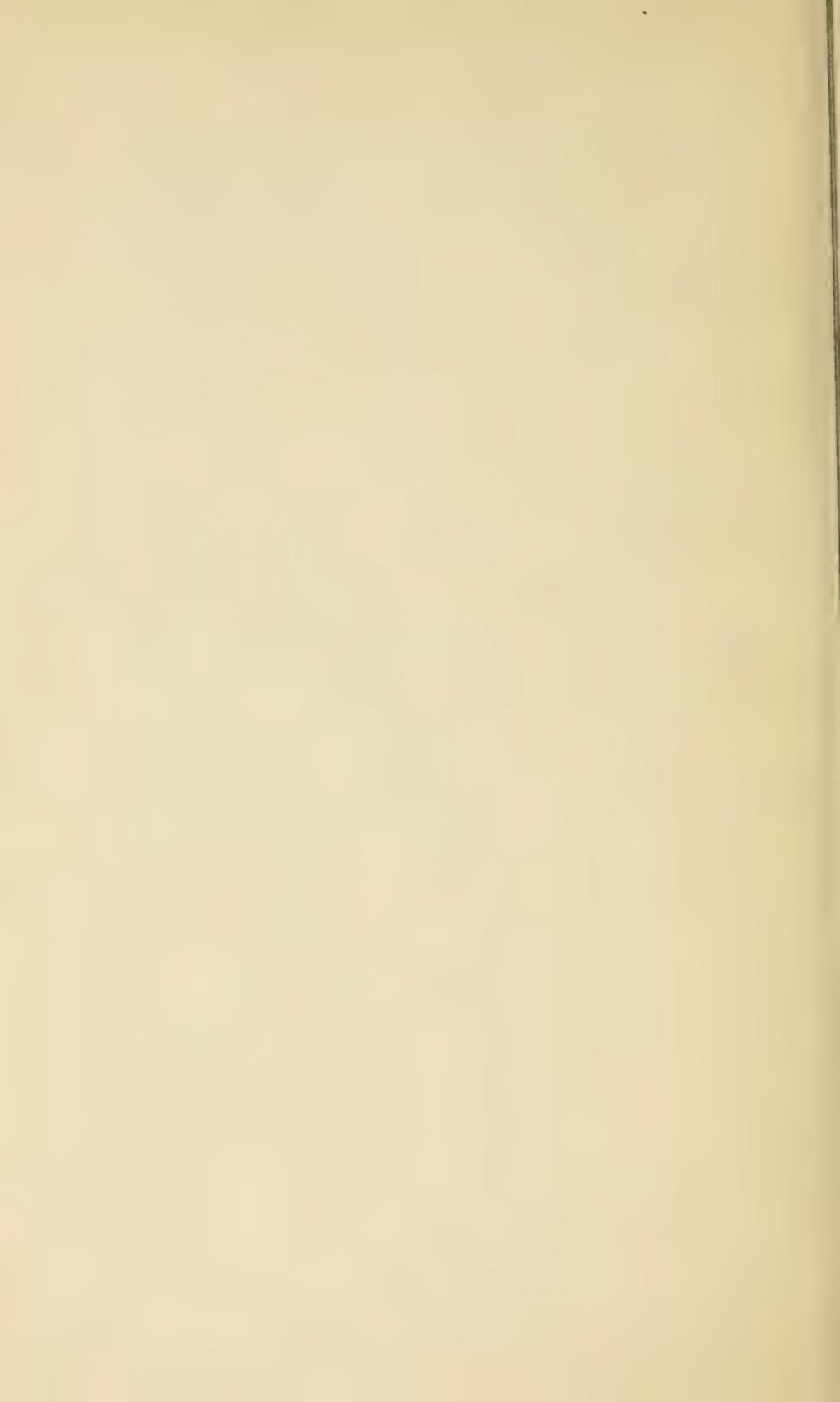
TORPEDO BOATS (3 of Naluca class).—
Naluca, Shorul, Smeul :—Speed 21
knots.

Every Roumanian between the ages of 21 and 48 is liable to military service. He is called up for three years and on his completing that term is passed into the Reserve, unless he has passed a certain educational test, in which case he may be only kept for one year on active service.

There are four divisions of the Army—the infantry, the artillery, the engineers, and the cavalry. The ordinary occupation of the Roumanian fits him to become a good infantry soldier, and the cavalry—mounted as they are on Moldavian horses, than which there are none more renowned for their speed and endurance—forms a strong force. The engineers and artillery

are trained mainly on the French model, and the officers are mostly guided by the rules of the French Military Training School of St. Cyr.

The reputation of the Army, however, dates from the part taken at Plevna, in 1877, when its total strength was about 50,000. In 1914 the Army on a peace footing consisted of about 100,000 of all ranks, 25,000 horses and 650 guns, with an annual recruitment of 50,000. In the second Balkan War (1913), although there was not any heavy fighting, there was a very effective and rapid mobilisation. As much munition has been received from Britain and France, the Army, together with the Militia and the Reserve, should number between 550,000 and 600,000 and on a full levy could be increased to 800,000.



POSTSCRIPT

People in this country are only beginning to realise that the operations of war are as important in one field as in another. All the talk about a decision in the West should not blind us to the importance of operations in the East. Those persons who thought that Roumania had waited until the end before joining the Allies should now be beginning to see that the part she has taken is not such a simple or easy one as they had imagined. The Germans may be foolish enough in some respects, but our Allies agree that their military organisation and their generalship are not to be lightly regarded. The Berlin-Baghdad conception of the German Emperor is ambitious, but it is not therefore foolish ; and it has not been proved that our enemies have over-estimated the importance of victory in the East : indeed, it is more likely that we have under-estimated its importance. The proposal

to crush the Turk when he joined the Central Powers was a sound one whatever may be said of the attempts to execute it, and there has been a disposition in this country to esteem too lightly the power of the "Sick Man of Europe." The Allies have had a gigantic task: they have had to make an organisation in months to combat a force that had been organised for years, and their success has been wonderful. The people are conscious of the greatness of the efforts that have been made, and the very magnitude of the task they have accomplished has contributed to keep them incredulous as to the capacity for continued resistance on the part of the Central Powers.

When Roumania came in there were many who expected that the war would end, and there were few who expected that Germany would be able to direct against her any smashing blow. The general belief was that Germany had as much to do as she could face. Roumanians did not share this opinion, although they did

not believe, nor do they believe, that they will be defeated. They knew that desperate attempts would be made to prevent them from cutting connection between the Central Powers and Turkey, and they were aware of the difficulties that the Salonica Force would experience in attempting to join them. They knew very well that Germany realised that her existence depended on the support she could give to her Allies—that she could not afford to allow Austria to be invaded or Bulgaria to be placed in jeopardy. They knew also of another reason why she should attempt to crush Roumania. A good deal has been written of the blind wrath of the Hun and his wanton destruction of his weaker opponents: but there is something else behind the concentration of forces against Roumania. There is not merely the desire for vengeance; there is the desire for profit. If Roumania were crushed, the way between the Central Powers and the East would be widened and secured, and a tract

of fertile country would be laid under contribution. The German would have granaries from which to feed his troops ; and petrol with which to transport them : while his lines would be shortened and the efficiency of his forces thereby increased.

There is also a moral reason. Turkey and Bulgaria have blindly trusted Germany, and she cannot afford that they should lose confidence in her any more than she can allow her own people to have their faith in victory shaken. She must prove to her own people and to her Allies that Roumania has taken the wrong side.

The campaign in the Carpathians and in the Dobrudja is meant to result in military, political, and material advantage to the Central Powers. It is not a mere explosion of wrath against the Roumanians ; and the Central Powers may have reason to think that if they can secure victory there at the loss of some ground on the Western or other fronts

the price is well worth paying. It is foolish to look on the Germans as fools where their interests are concerned. Their strategy may be right or wrong, but it is not inspired mainly by a desire for theatrical effect or for revenge.

Whatever success they may have had will be more than neutralised when the importance of countering their movements is fully realised by the people of this country, and when it is recognised that every effort is necessary on the part of all the Allies in order to secure an early and decisive victory.

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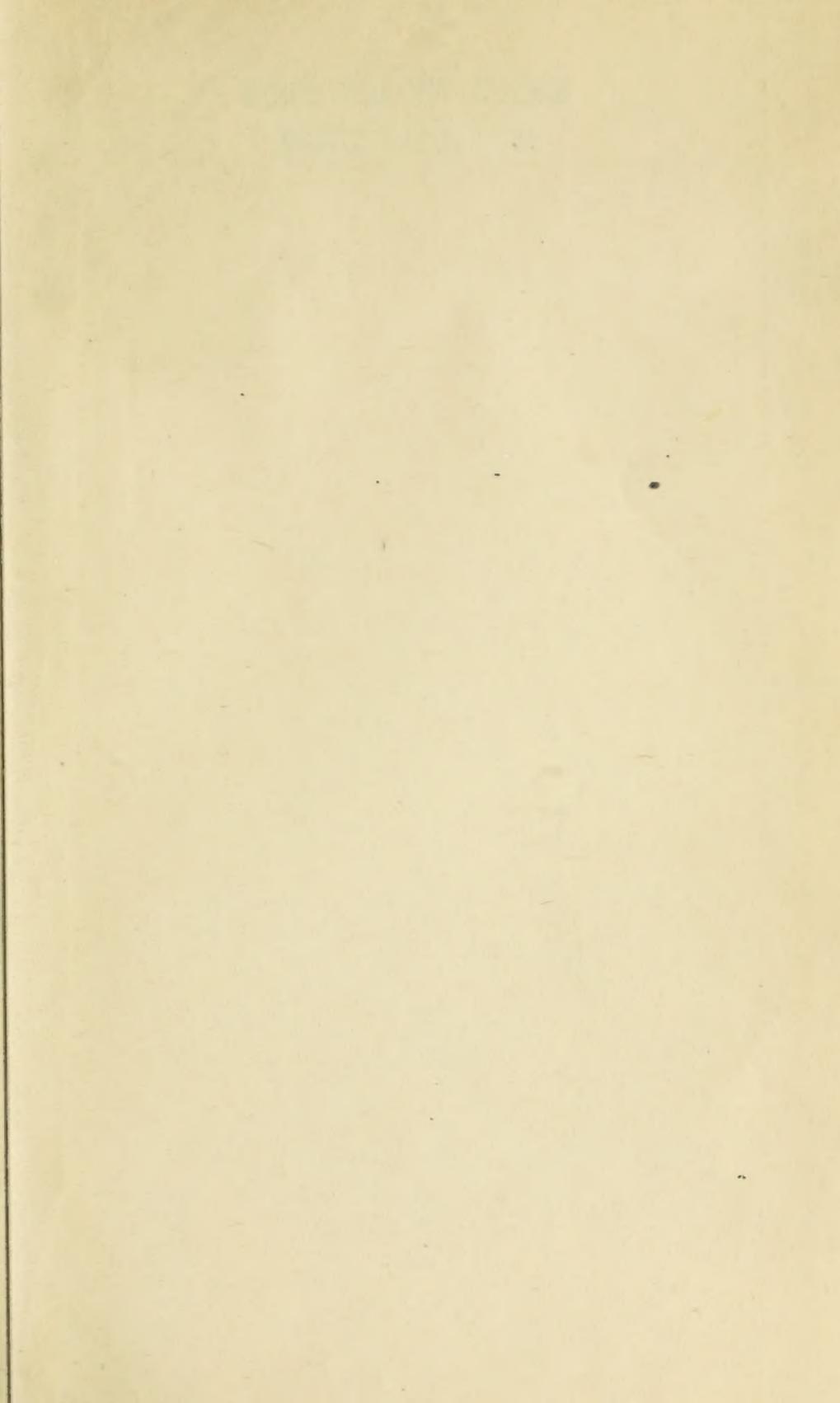
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